

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

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AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

C O N F I D E N T I A L COPENHAGEN 0029

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, DA

SUBJECT: GENERAL ELECTION - NO. 7 - OPPOSITION PARTIES (THE ARE
LEFT)

REF: COPENHAGEN 3584

SUMMARY. ALTHOUGH THE FORTHCOMING ELECTION IS FUNDAMENTALLY
A CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE LIBERALS AND THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS,
THE THREE PARTIES ON THE FAR LEFT (THE COMMUNIST, LEFT
SOCIALIST, SOCIALIST PEOPLES PARTIES) WILL PLAY A
SIGNIFICANT ROLE TO THE EXTENT THEIR IDEOLOGY AND VOTER
APPEAL CUTS INTO THE LEFT WING OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

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ALTHOUGH THERE IS VIRTUALLY NO POSSIBILITY THAT THESE

PARTIES, WITH THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, COULD SECURE A SOCIALIST MAJORITY IN THE FOLKETING, IT IS PROBABLE THAT BOTH THE COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST PEOPLES PARTIES WILL MAKE SUBSTANTIAL GAINS. END SUMMARY.

1. IN THE CURRENT ELECTION CAMPAIGN THE COMMUNIST PARTY (DKP) AND THE SOCIALIST PEOPLES PARTY (SPP) ARE IN REALITY WAGING A LOCALIZED WAR ON THE FAR LEFT AGAINST THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (SDP). SINCE THEY HAVE LITTLE APPEAL TO OR INTER-FACE WITH ANY OF THE NON-SOCIALIST PARTIES, THEIR REAL GAINS CAN BE OBTAINED ONLY FROM ONE ANOTHER OR FROM THE LEFT WING OF THE SDP. IN THE FORTHCOMING ELECTION, HOWEVER, THEY REPRESENT A STRONGER CHALLENGE TO THE SDP THAN AT ANY TIME SINCE 1945. THE TWO PARTIES TOGETHER MIGHT WELL WIN 13 PERCENT TO 15 PERCENT OF THE VOTE RATHER THAN THEIR TRADITIONAL TEN PERCENT. THE CHALLENGE, MOREOVER, IS MORE SIGNIFICANT THAN THE PERCENTAGES WOULD SUGGEST: ON THE ONE HAND, THE HIGH RATE OF UNEMPLOYMENT IS GIVING CREDENCE TO THE MILITANT ANTI-HARTLING STRATEGY THE TWO PARTIES HAVE BEEN WAGING THROUGHOUT THE YEAR WITHIN THE BLUE-COLLAR LABOR MOVEMENT; ON THE OTHER, THEIR STRIDENT CALLS FOR A UNITED FRONT OF ALL LABOR PARTIES DIRECTLY UNDERMINES THE SDP'S EFFORT TO PORTRAY ITSELF AS A SAFE, TRADITIONAL HAVEN FOR THE VOTER IN THE MODERATE MIDDLE.

2. THE COMMUNISTS. THE DKP HAS NEVER BEEN MORE OPTIMISTIC. THE PARTY IS REVELLING OVER WHAT IT TERMS THE "INNATE CRISIS OF THE CAPITALIST WEST." PARTY CHAIRMAN KNUD JESPERSEN LOSES NO OPPORTUNITY TO POINT OUT TO FAITHFUL MARXISTS THAT THE OPEC COUNTRIES' INCREASE OF THEIR OIL PRICE IS PROOF OF LENIN'S THEORY OF IMPERIALISM AS THE MEANS OF POSTPONING THE INHERENT CONTRADICTION WITH THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM. THUS LENIN SEEMS VINDICATED AND, AMONG THE INTELLECTUAL MARXISTS OF THE FAR LEFT TO WHOM SUCH IDEOLOGICAL CONCERNS ARE IMPORTANT, MAOIST AND TROTSKYITE ELEMENTS IN THE LEFT SOCIALIST PARTY HAVE ACCORDINGLY SUFFERED. PARTY FINANCES, MOREOVER, HAVE BEEN AUGMENTED BY THE DECISION OF TWO LARGE DANISH TRADE UNIONS TO DIVIDE THEIR POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS PROPORTIONALLY AMONG

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ALL THREE LABOR PARTIES, GIVING THE DKP AND THE SPP WINDFALLS OF 80,000 KRONER (US\$14,000) AND 100,000 KRONER (US\$18,000) RESPECTIVELY.

3. CAMPAIGN TACTICS AND PLATFORM; WHILE ASSUMING THE ROLE OF THE MOST MILITANT ANTI-HARTLING LABOR PARTY, THE DKP HAS ASSUMED A "SOFT" LINE VIS-A-VIS ITS REAL OPPONENT, THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY. JESPERSEN OFFERED

PUBLICLY EARLY IN THE CAMPAIGN TO COOPERATE IN A "COMMON LABOR FRONT" WITH THE SDP AND THE SOCIALIST PEOPLES PARTY. THE COMMUNISTS HAVE ALSO EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO SUPPORT A MINORITY SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT AFTER THE ELECTION. THIS "REASONABLENESS" HAS EMBARRASSED THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AND FORCED THEM TO DEFEND THEIR REJECTION OF THE PROFFERED COOPERATION. SDP CHAIRMAN ANKER JORGENSEN REGULARLY REMINDS HIS AUDIENCES THAT HE WAS BOOED BY THE COMMUNIST CROWD AT THE SEPTEMBER ANTI-HARTLING DEMONSTRATION AND AKTUEL, THE SDP DAILY, HAS UNEARTHED THE NAZI-SOVIET PACT OF 1939 AS EVIDENCE OF COMMUNIST DUPLICITY.

4. PROSPECTS. THE DKP WILL BENEFIT CONSIDERABLY - MORE SO THAN THE SDP - FROM THE HIGH RATE OF UNEMPLOYMENT. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE, EITHER, THAT THE REICHAU YOUTH VOTE WHICH ACCOUNTED FOR THE DKP SUCCESS IN 1973 HAS LEFT THE PARTY. WELL-FINANCED AND DISCIPLINED, THE DKP CAN BE EXPECTED TO INCREASE ITS PRESENT SIX-SEAT REPRESENTATION, POSSIBLY TO THE TEN OR ELEVEN SEATS JESPERSEN IS PREDICTING.

5. SOCIALIST PEOPLES PARTY. SANDWICHED BETWEEN RESURGENT COMMUNIST LABOR MILITANCY AND THE LOW-PROFILE PRAGMATISM THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS HAVE ASSUMED IN THIS CAMPAIGN, THE SPP IS BEING SQUEEZED. ITS STRENGTH WITHIN THE LABOR UNIONS ESPECIALLY HAS SHOWN SIGNS OF BREAKING UP. CONSEQUENTLY, THE PARTY IS SPARING NO RESOURCE IN CONDUCTING AN EXPENSIVE, HIGHLY-PERSONALIZED CAMPAIGN BEHIND THE FIGURE OF ITS NEW CHAIRMAN, GERT PETERSEN.

6. THE SPP HAS ADOPTED THE SAME TACTICS AS THE DKP: ANTI-HARTLING, PRO-LABOR PARTY COOPERATION, WITH "FAIR PLAY" TO A SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC MINORITY GOVERNMENT AFTER THE ELECTION. THE PRINCIPAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES LIES IN THEIR POSITION ON

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ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY - A DIFFERENCE THAT IS APT TO BECOME SIGNIFICANT IN THE POST-ELECTION NEGOTIATIONS. THE SPP GOES ALONG WITH THIS PROPOSAL FOR GRADUAL SOCIALIZATION OF INDUSTRIAL OWNERSHIP WHILE THE DKP, ALTHOUGH COMPELLED BY ITS "COMMON FRONT" TACTIC TO PROMISE NOT TO BRING DOWN A SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC MINORITY GOVERNMENT OVER THE ED ISSUE, IS IN FACT ADAMANTLY OPPOSED TO IT. ALTHOUGH RECENT POLLS SHOW THE SPP DOING BETTER THAN IN DEC 1973 WHEN IT GOT ELEVEN SEATS, IT WILL BE VERY SATISFIED TO MAINTAIN A LARGER VOTE THAN THE DKP.

7. THE LEFT SOCIALIST PARTY REMAINS DISUNITED IN TROTSKYIST AND MAOIST FACTIONS WITH LITTLE INFLUENCE IN THE CAMPAIGN AND SMALL CHANCE FOR EXCEEDING THE TWO PERCENT MINIMUM THRESHOLD FOR REPRESENTATION IN

PARLIAMENT.
DUNNIGAN

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